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863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [754] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sek*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sek* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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property.[10] From this time on a male must avoid looking at the genitals of any woman except those of a lover or wife. 864

The sexual response for which a boy is most severely punished during childhood is that of tumescence in public. Any female who observes a boy with an erect penis is expected to beat the member with a stick. It is usually the boy's older *sister* who takes the responsibility for inflicting this punishment. I never saw this punishment actually administered, but I did observe boys with erections on two occasions. While playing at my house one morning Ham had an erection. His older *brothers*, Gwiyap and Mey, noticed it and teased him about it. They told him that he should be ashamed of himself and warned him not to let any females see him that way. On another occasion Fit was observed by his playmates with an erect penis and was similarly teased. Shortly after this I was visiting at Fit's house. His *brother*, Gwiyap, began telling his older *sisters*, Awa and Kwiya, about what had happened to Fit, illustrating the story in a joking manner by putting a stick between his legs. Awa and Kwiya laughed at Gwiyap but they scolded Fit. "You had better not let us catch you that way or we will beat you. What are you, a baby? You should be old enough to control yourself." Fit was much discomfited at this. He denied the truth of Gwiyap's story, told him to shut up, and finally left the house sullenly. Kwoma inculcation on this point is apparently very effective for I observed no adult, and, in fact, no other child with an erection.

A boy is also restricted from fingering his genitals. Anyone who observes a child touching his penis scolds him for it. They tell him that he should not do it because this part of his body belongs to his future wife, and that masturbation will cause injury to his penis. The training is effective enough to prevent the child, who during the weaning period was allowed to touch his penis, from persisting in this habit. I did not observe any boy child manipulate his genitals, and

[10] *Enji mbumbouci*—"My something." This expression is also used to establish property rights, thus bringing the act in context with offenses against ownership and property. [192] [196]

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[648] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[644] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing."[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[561] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sakana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[196] [19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

835 [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
[539] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[29] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[29] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [513] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *homba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [578] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[762] [192] [196] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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rewarded for aggression, instead of learning to stop teasing as his would-be teacher wished.

A Kwoma teacher scolds his pupils even more frequently than he punishes them, and uses this technique under similar circumstances. In fact, in all the cases that I observed of a teacher inflicting physical pain on pupils, he also scolded them. Scolding, like physical punishment, is employed by the teacher after the pupil has made a wrong or a not right response, and it can be presumed to operate psychologically in the same manner, except that the drive employed is acquired rather than basic.

Scolding acquires its motivational power in the following way. One of the most common phrases used by a Kwoma teacher in scolding a pupil is *kafwa sek otato*, "you have behaved badly." *Kafwa sek* is a modifier which is applied to rotten meat, to feces, to food "poisoned" by sorcery, as well as to bad behavior. Thus these words are associated with things which are disgusting or dangerous—things which all children have learned to avoid because of the pain which is inherent in such objects, because they have been punished for touching or eating them, or both. Furthermore, since a pupil is always scolded while he is being punished, these words come to symbolize a beating as well, and thus gain the power to evoke feelings of fear.

A second phrase frequently used by Kwoma teachers in scolding a pupil is *karaganda yikafa*, "little child" or "infant." This phrase implies that the pupil is behaving like an infant. It is the antonym of *harafa ma malaka*, "big older brother man," which is used for praise. Like *kafwa sek*, this phrase is used during physical punishment frequently enough so that it gains a strong fear potential. In addition, it is used in many contexts in which children are barred from doing what they would like to do. Thus the phrase comes to mean the denial of privileges. The fact that Kwoma children will mutilate their penises and willingly undergo scarification in order not to be classified as *karaganda yikafa* indicates the motivational power of this concept.

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sago briquettes, she asked Mey to pass her the two sticks which Kwoma housewives use to stir and ladle the thick gruel. Mey brought her two old sticks which she had long since discarded rather than the desired ones. She made Mey take the wrong ones back and get the right ones and began scolding him for his inattention and stupidity. Mey stood looking sullen and sheepish, and heard out her tirade. In this case the drive was anxiety evoked by the scolding; the response was looking sullen and sheepish and listening; the cues included being told to get stirring sticks and the memory of having brought his mother the wrong ones; the reward was reduction of fear (after she stopped scolding him). Thus listening and not talking back, rather than running away, was the response reinforced in this case.[24] The right response, of paying attention when spoken to, would be learned by Mey when on the next occasion he was asked to do something by his mother, did it correctly, and was not scolded for it.

Threatening is the third technique of motivating pupils employed by Kwoma teachers. A threat, like scolding, activates the acquired drive of fear in the pupil, but it differs from scolding in that it precedes the wrong or not right response. A threat is an "if . . . then" statement—"if you do such and such, then I will scold or beat you." Threats are used by Kwoma teachers in situations where they foresee that the pupil is likely to make a wrong response, either because the pupil is beginning to make such a response or because the teacher's knowledge of the pupil's habits suggests that he may do so. Kwoma teachers employ the technique of threatening as widely as scolding although perhaps not as frequently, since it is usually more difficult to predict a wrong response than it is to observe one.

Threats, like scolding, depend for their motivational power upon the acquired drive of fear. The phrase most commonly employed by the Kwoma teacher when threatening a pupil is *anafa fiju*, "I will beat you." *Fiju* is the term employed for all types of physical violence and injury. It has

[24] Unfortunately I observed no case of a child being specifically scolded or punished for talking back, but informants stated that this did occur.

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121 861 [192] [196] the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[25]

121 626 602 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] [25] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[26] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[27]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[26] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[27] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

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pressing work of their own to do; the reward was getting the log to the house tamberan plot. Yat's helpers thus taught him to give a feast by helping him.

Not giving and not helping are also techniques which are frequently used to arouse motivation. Kwoma teachers may punish a pupil by refusing to help him or give to him, after he has made a wrong response, or they may threaten him by promising not to help him or not to give to him if he should make a wrong response. The threat of breaking relationship is effective, not only because it implies aggression, but also because it implies withdrawal of support. Thus War's threat that he would break relationship with Gwiyap if he did not stop taking sago from Payap's plot, implied withdrawal of help and was effective in changing Gwiyap's behavior for this reason as well as because it implicitly threatened the kinds of aggression which kinship restrictions inhibit.

Praising is the third technique of rewarding used by Kwoma teachers. It is an acquired reward on the verbal level. As with other rewards, it may be employed either in conjunction with motivation and guidance or alone. A Kwoma teacher most frequently employs this technique when a pupil has performed an unexpectedly "good" response rather than merely a right one. Kwoma pupils are thus reinforced for excelling, for doing better than others, and this may explain in part why Kwoma individuals strive for superiority and prestige.

One of the phrases frequently employed in praising is *handombas*, "good." This word gains its power to reinforce habits by being frequently used in rewarding contexts. A Kwoma will pat his stomach after a good meal and say "*handombas*," or he will say it when he is greeting a friend, or he will use it to refer to someone or something that he likes. He also uses it to describe tasty food, good workmanship, or someone whom he regards highly. As a result, *handombas* comes to have a relaxing or acquired reward value,[19] and thus has the effect of reinforcing preceding habits when-

[19] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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121 ever a teacher applies it to a pupil. Since, moreover, a
861 Kwoma teacher seldom punishes, scolds, or threatens a pupil at the same time that he praises him, ***handombas*** becomes a cue, reducing whatever anxiety may be present, and thus acquires further rewarding value.

• [192] [554] A second phrase, *harafa ma malaka*, is applied to men of high prestige who have many privileges that the ordinary person does not enjoy. It comes to mean, therefore, the right to go to the *Nokwi* ceremonies, to have many wives, to have many helpers at work bees, to be deferred to at court meetings, and to be so formidable that no one dare threaten or attack you. When a teacher applies this phrase to a pupil, it symbolizes an advance toward the attainment of these goals and is therefore rewarding. Furthermore, if a pupil is called *harafa ma malaka*, he is never called *karaganda yikafa*, "little child," at the same time, as these are antithetical concepts. Since the latter phrase is used to scold pupils, the former symbolizes non-scolding and thus gains further reward value.

Praising may be exemplified by the following case. Yat speared two pigs in one afternoon, a remarkable feat since a man will often hunt for weeks without success. When he returned to the hamlet, he joined a group of men who were sitting in the house tamberan and told them of his accomplishment. The men praised him for his prowess, referring to his act as *handombas* and to him as a *harafa ma malaka*. Thus Yat was rewarded by these words of praise for whatever hunting technique led to his success.

In conclusion, the following summary of the results of the preceding analyses may be made. The assumption that learning principles apply to the process of culture transmission at Kwoma has led to an organization of the data observed, so that some of the factors which permit, and some of the forces which compel, a Kwoma individual to learn his culture have been isolated and defined. Furthermore, the application of learning theory has brought certain essential details of the process of socialization into sharper relief than might otherwise have been the case. It is evident, also, from the above

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wenkí) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its waratta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

"The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation, for they will be allowed to go. The night before the waratta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the waratta to the refrain of a hoguasewit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hoguasewit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it isn't taboo to them--merely man's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bongus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk lulusi, Marsh is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

796 346 [192] This is a 'singsing nothing' (hasawaliiw). It seems to be a ceremonial anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji horumpd' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first hwatd as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Washuh, one for Bongus. [177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwet, [537] representing the Rambine, Wenyabenhura, and Dawus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwet throw themselves [535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and [533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the ewi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leatherneck' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamborem on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamborems.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] here in a few days on his patrol.
[657]

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term narenboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[264] yet know. Later on when one's narenboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwom. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabenkura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

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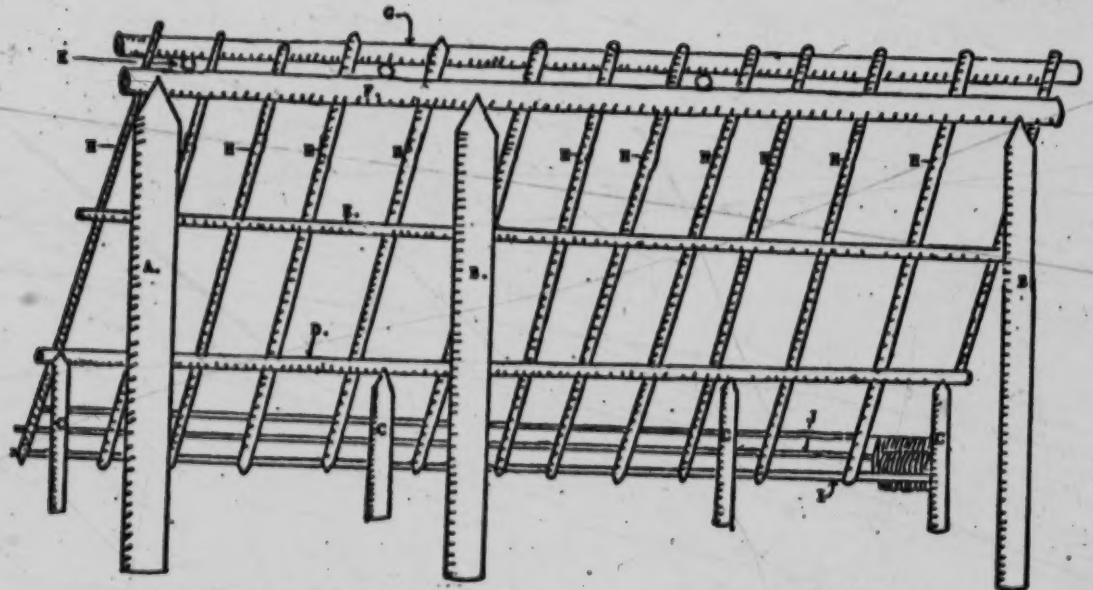
Key to House Construction --Center posts and roof



A. sumaŋ́ -- main central post
B. mɔ̃ndé kwaŋ́--subsidiary central posts
C. taŋ́ faŋ́-- side posts
D. akɨ́ faŋ́--plate
E. akɨ́ jiŋ́--stringer
F. akɨ́ touŋ́--ridgepole
G. yi touŋ́-- binder
H. ya yemi--rafters
I. suku nyungeŋ́--bamboo runners attached to hold ends of shingles
J. aka ngɔ̃ŋ́-- runners to hold shingles
K. akɨ́ warunkɨ́-- cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap.

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335
[804]

Posts are measured and cut and moved to the building site. To measure the correct length a bamboo is marked by lashing a chip at the desired spot. The diameter of a post is measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around the post and breaking the splint at the point of overlap. The measure is used as a guide in digging the hole. The posts are also measured as they are set to insure a level ridgepole.

The figure on the preceeding page shows the frame of a house, the center posts and half of the roof, and gives definitions for the labels. Following is the procedure used in construction the frame and house.

342
335
192

1. Two nõndź kwatź (b) (subsidiary central posts) are first set. The central posts (wõndź kwat) stand at each end of the enclosed part of the house.
2. Tafź tompź (c) (side posts) are set.
3. Akź fayź (d) (plate) set.
4. A staging of log lashed from the tafź tompź (c) (side posts) to the akź fayź (d) (plate) and lengthwise logs lashed on this. (For the house tamberan, a very elaborate staging is built-- subsidiary rafters are lashed to a temporary ridgepole up two-thirds way to the nõndź kwatź (b) (subdisiary central posts).)
5. Akź towź (f) (ridgepole) lifted up and lashed. The main ridgepole extends only over the main room (akewź). The smaller ridgepole extension (yi tow) extends over the porch.
6. Yavenź (h) (rafters) set and attached. Those on the porch end of the house are slanted forward toward the peak. (See figure below)

342 192 [284] ongwí yiju are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for akí ne (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, akíwoyí ne, in the ground and lashing them to akí fayí (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niene, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas aie (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the outside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (momporirié) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas aie room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [35] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192] Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asé). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192] Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadong represents low gong; gadang represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwo ?af

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

ngurénio

gadang gadong gading

Songs, exhortations

539 Wail sung to mourn a death

533 hogwinanáwÔfáyeyagÔt ahé — Who is looking for him?

764 gamba go ba sowahÔ — He is gone to the land of the dead.

afakw meta né ye yan hÔ — Father come and get him.

Wail sung to mourn a death

awi yahéhé — Mother come

nokwa aké nahé — Give me sago

hogwi anhanahé — Give me meat

aié hawnhé — I am hungry

789 Casting a spell (yamba menifio) is used to protect gardens from pigs
[192] and theft, to prevent rain, thunder, lightening, to quell the wind, etc. and for healing purposes.

789 Exhortation to marselai to quell the wind. If all the snakes are killed, tied
539 up and put in a hold, the wind cannot blow.

533 wafnafré sowégo — Kill the snake (a certain kind in each case)

nayawus sowégo — " " "

hofima sowégo — " " "

kis hofé sowégo — " " "

weyéhof sowégo — " " "

npunkérémbwejuwé — Fasten him

nokéfayétis juwé — Tie him up

key wagwé — Put him in the hollow of a tree.

Magical verse to cure a boil

755 vaíɨ kwiyɨ́ na foso — Growth on breadfruit go away
539 mogwi na foso — Breast go away
533 yatokɨ́ na foso — Leg go away
tabac na foso — Tobacco go away
krɨk na foso — Penis go away
mandɨ́ gɨ́ na foso — Testicles go away
hafokɨ́ ngɨ́ na foso — Shoulder go away
ugwi ngɨ́ na foso — Water go away

533 Songs are not only sung in chorus (hoguaiiu), but also with a leader
192 and chorus (hogwisawat).

192 [826] [262] [614]

marinciw	the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.
nambeyé	ears
nborowang	neck
nasuk	heart
wofu	lungs
kumbu	stomach
sungu	intestines
mangorusuku	kidneys
nogu	bladder
eré	penis
mandé	testicles
sumé suf	anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the siafkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.

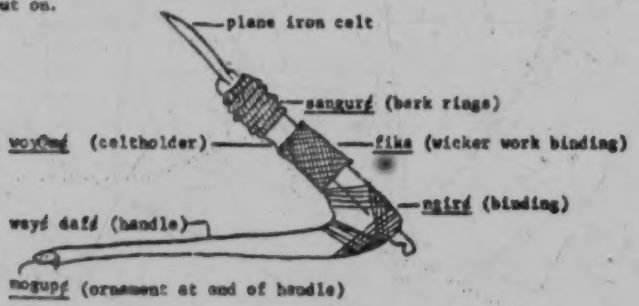
Tools

412
192

Adze (wɔvɛ)

To make an adze, the celt holder (voyɛ̃ŋ́) is shaped and split at the end. Preferred wood is wɔ̃ndɛ́ (pidgin, kwilí), but other wood is used. The handle has also been shaped and is made from any wood. A section is cut out, usually from a small tree where a small branch joins the larger or the main trunk, and is covered to fit the slightly convex celt holder. A straight handle is preferred, but a slightly curved one is not disliked. The angle between the face and handle varies from about 50° to 70°. The iron celt (formerly stone) is slipped into the split in the celt holder. Bark rings (sangurɛ́) which have been dried are slipped on from the top and forced down, holding the celt firmly in place. The wicker work is then woven into a sleeve and the handle is slipped into this. Hoops from prepared liana bark are also used to attach the handle to the celtholder. The hoop is measured to the collar of the celtholder by tying it in a half knot which is pulled tight. This is slipped off and the ends are tucked on either side of the loop until a twisted loop is formed four or five strands thick. The twists are laid carefully side by side, which causes the loop to thicken and therefore a lessening of the inner circumference so that the loop will jam when driven to the shoulder. When the handle has been attached, a final binding is put on.

[284]



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The handles for (adzes) wolye, especially those used to break up sago, are buried in the mud for a period of about two years. They become very hard and tough and have a high black polish. A stick (gémégéégé) is also made this way and used in place of the stone blade for crushing sago pith. The cutting point is sharpened by pecking with a pig's tusk scraper into a cup shaped point. The wood is extremely hard after burying so it is shaped before putting it into the water.

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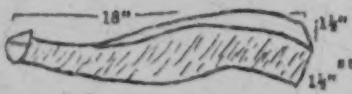
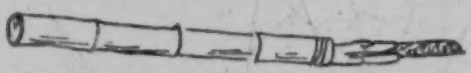
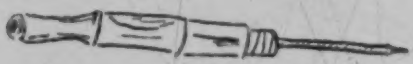
hammer (nbombo) -- made from heavy hard wood



celtholder (woyfwf)-- made with bamboo holder, plane iron celt

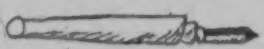


chipper (yonkwo)-- made with bamboo handle, iron rod with wedge chisel point. Handle about four feet long.

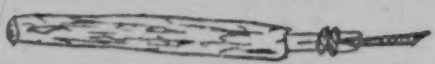


scraper (asf) -- bamboo handle, celt stone, about three and a half feet long.

chipper (yonkwo)-- bamboo or wooden handle, plane iron chipper, attached by split liana cord (fikf) hoops, about three feet long.



chipper (yonkwo)-- made with wooden handle, attached by hoops.



Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the mŋgisí tree is peeled off in short stripe (one to two feet long). These stripe are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 824 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berried used for dye are from two trees, kísəŋfíí and nowí, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the nowí trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [177] was brought to the Hongwam through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before [178] this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

Paints

386 In addition to the berries used to dye twines, paints are made by
192 various clays. Black paint, wŋnź (kwild- pidgin) is made by burning wŋnź wood. The charcoal is heavy and resinous, and when scraped with a stone is mixed with the sap of sŋgnvivewź . Other colors are made by mixing clay with water. They are nowź kayź (black clay) ; sŋkź nowź (red clay); mbŋndowź nowź (yellow clay) ; nogung (white clay).

532 Sugilawas (carved wooden figures representing marmakai used at the
386 yam cult ceremonies) are painted with a small brush made from the frayed skin
[413] of a betel pepper fastened to a small stick. The black paint is applied all over the figure and dried in the sun. The other clay colors are applied over the black.

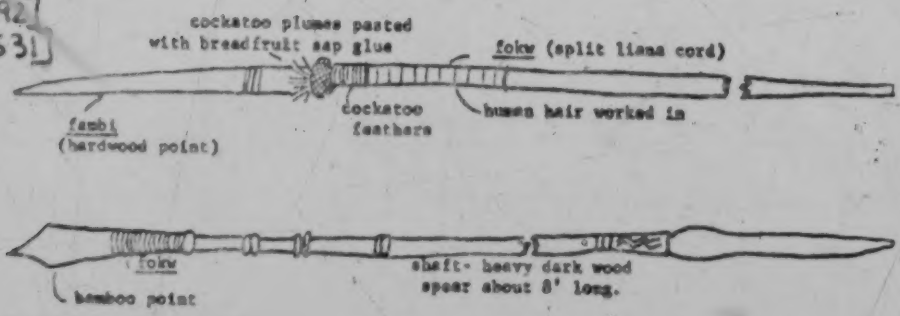
Spears

411 A description of how the spear is thrown appears in the section on pig hunting.

411 322 Bamboo spear points are used as well as hardwood points. These made from bamboo are frequently found about the house drying. They are made by splitting a large bamboo stalk, one and one half to two inches in diameter. The sides are sprung apart by small pegs to keep the bamboo from shriveling together and to open and flatten it slightly. The section cut contains one node and about two or three inches of a second node which is used at a butt. These sections are put in the peak of the house and dried for several months. They are then sharpened and if not immediately used, are put back with the spreders still intact.

411 The figures below show not only a man hunting spear, but also decorations from some spear handles.

[324] [192] [531]



Bow and arrow

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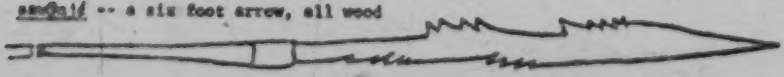
The bow (an[illegible]) is tightened by placing the lower point on the ground, while the left hand grasps the top, and the right hand the middle. The left knee is then brought to bear against the bow and the fokw (split liana cord) slackens. The arrow is held against the fokw (in the right hand) between thumb and forefinger of the index finger. The palm of the left hand pushes out against the bow. The thumb circles the bow; the index finger arches over the arrow so that the latter rests in the crotch between the thumb and index finger. As the bowstring is drawn taut, the bow is raised until the arrow is just below the level of the eye. The left arm is straightened as the string is drawn back with the right.

Arrows are made from either wood or bamboo shafts. (See figures below).

minj/ -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

kwonj/ -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

sa[illegible]j/ -- a six foot arrow, all wood



Butchering a Pig

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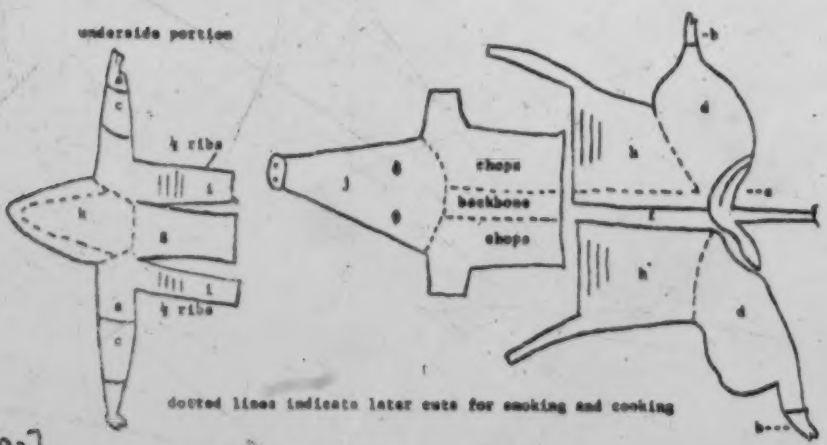
[412]

All the cutting is done with bamboo knives which are very efficient. About a half dozen knives, each eight inches long and one inch wide were prepared. The bones are broken with an ax. The hair or skin is not removed. The figure below illustrates the cuts of a butchered pig, how it is cut and labels the definitions which follow.



[192]

a. trotters-front (tef(wheyskerf)
b. trotters-hind (yatf(njenkfr/)
c. 2nd joint of forelegs (tokfhaf)
d. 2nd joint of backlegs (kvafhaf)
e. tail and tenderloin (hiayf sfhf)
f. backbone (mangfr/)
g. breast (koku tokwiayf)
h. rear flanks (kokuaif)
i. fore ribs (mari)
j. upper jaw and brain case (masfkf)
k. lower jaw (kvajung)

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192

Cuts of a Butchered Pig

takimpi	breast, lower jaw, outer end of ribs, and fore legs to shoulder
mas/kɨ	upper jaw, head, shoulders, front half of back bone, chops
kwafimpi	back half of animal, cut in two along right side of backbone
yikufɨ	womb containing foetus
wofu	liver
mesɨ̃kɨ	heart
kumbo	stomach
sungu	intestines, large and small
herumpɨ	lungs
kweve	gaul
mbini	shoulder blade
neyfmunt	neck bone
kinyɨ	tail and tenderloin
hofu	long muscle below backbone
wadi	ribs in kwajimpi portion
kinɨkɨ́	lower portion of hind leg
kwaj@mpɨ	second joint of back leg

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252

Butchering procedure

1. All legs cut through at second joint, skin remaining
2. Ribs chopped on either side of breast bone
3. Breast bone cut around sides and belly and flapped forward over head
4. Belly slit to anus
5. Vitals removed and put in palm spathe; gaul is cut out and thrown away
6. Ribs chopped in three equal sections on either side of back bone-- two breaks on each side

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252

7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs separated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

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Division of parts to relatives

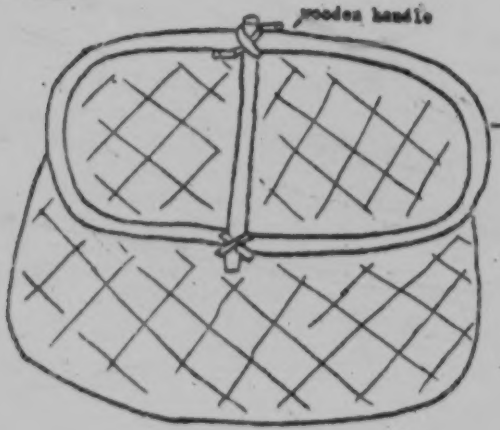
kwajumo	mother's brother
takŋhafi	father's sister
takimpi & suku tokwiyi	sister
masiki, amos	father's brothers
yati ŋgŋokori	brothers
mangŋri	wife and children
hokusaif	wife and children
mayi	wife and children
ontratis	wife and children

Fishing

226 [462] Fishing is the work of women. One method of fishing consists of damming a small stream to change its course and picking up the fish from the dry bed. Fish nets (naye) like the one shown below are also used. The women hold the net in the stream until the fish swim into it.

Fish Net (naye)

227 [192]



415 [192]

Basket (Sowpd)

Made from palm spathe, sewn with afokwas needle and foky, split liana cord, awl fashion.
Use to carry fish and other dry food.

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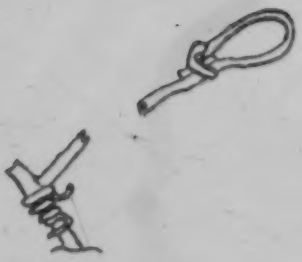
[284]

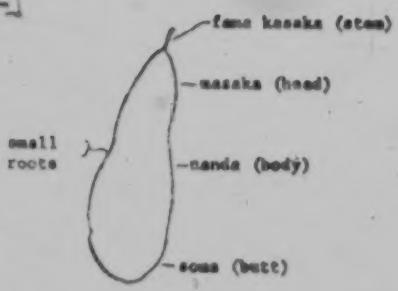


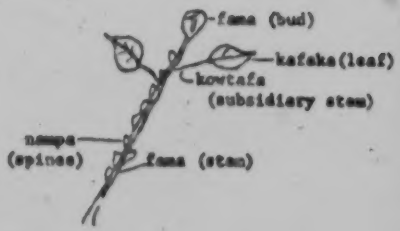
Split liana stringers

Split liana stringers and vines as attached to tree stumps

Names for descriptive parts of yams

[192]





244 192 614

Listed below are some of the varieties of yams and a description of them.

afosampa kow-- a totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf is dark green and large.

hangwa-- The fruit is long and dark, covered with fine roots. The leaf is light green or white. There are needles on the vine.

hayamakwa-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The leaf is light green or white, the vine very spiny.

hofu nanyi (snake)--The fruit is very long and thin. The leaf is long, narrow and dark green.

kasaya nanyi (a bird)-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf dark green, and the vine spineless.

kayahafa-- The fruit is long and covered with roots. It resembles the variety afosampa.

mandowa-- The fruit is long and light colored with fewer roots than the hangwa yam. There are needles on the vine; the leaf is dark green.

mandowa kow-- A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is dark skinned, with some roots; the leaf large and dark green.

mbutuwi kow-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is large, has no roots and is dark. The leaf is spineless, dark green.

nbagaoak-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is rounded and dark, with roots near the head near the stem but not below; the leaf is dark green.

nanya-- The fruit is round and lumpy; the leaf long and narrow. There are no needles on the vine.

ngayatafa-- The fruit has no roots except around the leaf of the fruit near the stem; the leaf is green and the vine spiny.

nogwako-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit has no roots, the leaf is white.

wasimpira (pig's tooth)--A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is large and flat. The leaf is dark green; there are no spines on the vine.

woya-- A variety of wild yam with long fruit and a small leaf.

Other vegetables

244 Mbiraka, native spinach, is planted in between the yam hills. The
[A2] seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house . The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[192] Waru, is a variety of pumpkin which was(recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Mayon , a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245 Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted.
192 There are several varieties grown: mbviya, eaten raw or cooked; ngayamwa,
252 eaten raw or cooked; fayambiyaf, eaten cooked only; wasifi, eaten raw or
[462] cooked; afojokwa, eaten cooked only; yayofa, eaten raw or cooked; ngarafaya, eaten raw or cooked.

249 Betel nut, kwasa, and coconut are planted by either men or women.
[245] Betel peper , kwasa , is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inserted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Varieties of Taro

244
192
614

afiyengwat-- A totem of the Tug sib.

harama-- A totem of the Tug sib. The leaf is green with dark green squires; the stalk dark green.

managa oska-- The leaf is dark green on top while the underside is a slightly bluish light green. The stem is light green.

nawakamayi-- A totem of the Haykmakwo sib. The leaf is large, dark green with light green splotches. The stalk is mahogany red.

The head of a taro is called masaka and the body ono . A young shoot is called yeyi.

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Manus
252 Informant: Gwiyap:
115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago
192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago
262 1 cup soup (kow foyf)

Informant: Gwiyap

dawn-- 1 ripe banana
7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit
1 boiled sago
noon-- 3 ripe bananas
3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: May

dawn-- 1 boiled sago
3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, ngwf)

Informant: Awa

niingf
(breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yantkf
(lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago
1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)
meat (fish, snake, lizard, pig or bird)

hongwf
(dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

262
192 Soups and other foods

foyokw ndonkw (pork soup) - foyɨ (pork), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana), mɨngisa (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbir@kɨ (spinach).

foyokw ndonkw-s@wɨ (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), foyɨ (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbir@kɨ (spinach), mɨngisɨ (leaf greens), s@wɨ (coconut).

wusiyɨ w@os huvutu (thick vegetable soup) -hinyɨ (a kind of vegetable), mbir@kɨ (spinach), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), owɨ (sago grubs), kwinyɨ (pork).

sfos@wɨ ndonkw (cassowary soup) -mbir@kɨ (spinach), s@wɨ (coconut), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana).

[252] sfondowan and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] [439] Fish that is bought from Yambon at the market is already smoked and is merely salted and eaten with sago.

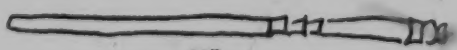
Preparation of Boiled Sago

252
[192] To make boiled sago, water is heated in a pot over the fire with a half dozen seasoning leaves (yiffinbiki) simmering in it (if the boiled sago is to be particularly tasty). A large lump of sago is then put in the bottom of another pot supported on the ground by a hoop of thin wood (the pots are round-bottomed). When the water boils, the leaves are skimmed off and put aside. The water is dipped into the other pot with a coconut shell dipper until the pot containing the sago is filled. It is stirred with the two "chop sticks" held in one hand. (See figures below). The water unites immediately with the sago and makes a thick gruel which becomes rubbery when it cools. This is stirred and tested until it has cooled sufficiently to congeal. The sticks are then held in each hand and rotated around each other and pulled out, dipped, rotated, and pulled out, about

ladle (nagwiebwi)

252
415
192
531

chop sticks (wuffiwi)



252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (whasambage, a roughtdull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is repeated until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, [462] bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do [516] this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, [857] child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (nəŋyi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [354] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

252 of a pancake. Next it is placed on the palm spathe, on top of the first cake, cooked side down, and another handful is put on the pot, the palm spathe, etc. until the lump is finished. Then the process of frying the other side is begun. Water in a coconut shell or pot is sprinkled over the top of the last cake until it is damp. Then it is put back on the fire the damp side down, and the next cake is sprinkled while the first one cooks. Each cake is cooked about a minute then stacked on a leaf. When they all are cooked, the pile of cakes is wrapped in the leaf and put away until time for eating, or eaten immediately.

[415] [192] A piece of betel spathe (tsoo nasiwe) is used to scrape the stirrer (ngumwi), the chop sticks (wurəfi), and the pan in order to clean them.

Preparation and cooking of yams

252 Yams are prepared for boiling by cutting off the skins with a cane knife. The yams are cut into chunks, the size of medium potatoes, and placed in a clay pot (about three quart size) to which water is added. They are boiled until they are soft, removed from the pot with yam sticks and [263] placed on freshly picked banana leaves. A small amount of salt (wís) is put [192] on the leaf as well.

Salt (wís)

263 Salt is made by burning dried sago bark (punkí). The ashes are 192 eaten. (It tastes like medicated salt.). foat (pidgin) is trade salt, [437] much preferred to the homemade variety.

Pottery Manufacture

323 Ochre colored earth is obtained and worked with water with a piece of stick a foot long, one to two inches in diameter, on a sago bark slab. There are numbrous pits in the vicinity where the proper material for pottery can be obtained. When the mixture has been thoroughly pounded, lumps are taken and rolled out into coils with the palm of the hand on another bark [824] slab. The long narrow leaf of the ngola plant (which produces motf, the red [192] berried 1' - 2' cobbwhose seeds are boiled and eaten) is taken and coiled [262] so that it resembles a large raised doughnut. Additional leaves are coiled diagonally and fastened so that the "doughnut" ring keeps its shape. These leaf rings vary in size for small or large pots. Several may be seen [192] about the house. They are called songuesale.

When the clay materials are ready, a large leaf or two freshly picked are placed across the coil. Then a rope of clay is taken and put onto the leaves and threaded around the form clockwise. The pots are not flat bottomed but rounded-- like a hemisphere of a coconut shell split lengthwise. As coils are added to build up the side they are pressed down firmly. There is little flare to the side walls.

The inner walls are smoothed with the ulnar side of the second joint of the index finger in a counter-clockwise fashion. The outside is smoothed with the palm of the hand.

When the pots have been completed they are left in the sun to dry for several weeks before firing. To fire a pot, three stones are arranged in a triangle and the pot is propped on these with a stick, on its side. Dry sago spathes are packed around the outside and inside, and then burned. Pots are usually fired inside the house, although they are sometimes moved into the sun. It is thought that one must not speak loudly while pots are being baked, for they may break.

Other containers

322
415
[192]
[824]

To make a lime gourd (weff), the stem of a green gourd is cut; the seeds are chipped out with a bamboo sliver, and shaken out with some of the meat. The gourd is then stuffed with leaves of a bush taro (kwasfmbonkf) and filled with water. It is wrapped with breadfruit leaves and cooked for about fifteen minutes. Then it is removed, emptied, and scraped inside and out. Next it is put in the sun to dry. (If the taro leaves are not put inside, the gourd will turn black.)

415
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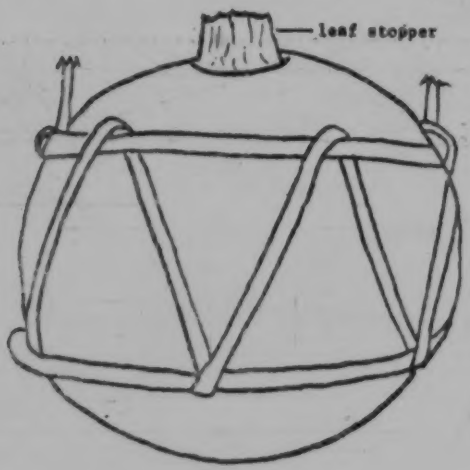
[386]

Gourd pot (nafrfmpf)

This particular pot is used for storing the sap of kwar, a hardwood tree, used as a base for black body paint (kevi). A similar cradle is made for a long gourd.

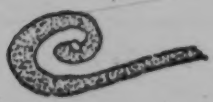


323
531 Incised decorations on clay pots

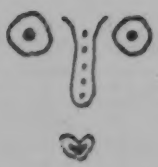
192 wɲɨɨ (usually on top rim of pot)

ambag

mbonɨmbonɨ



miyi (eyes)
sumpɨnɨi (nose)
kwinɨɨ (mouth)



Tobacco

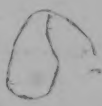
276 793 Long, long ago, Sukugaratś shot Sokweyigurś and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagaratś made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

276 Cigarettes

[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdangara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (niey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

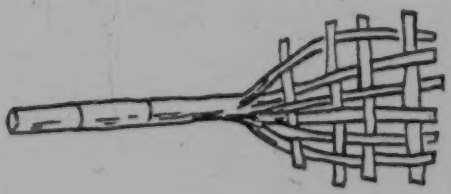
[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.



276 562 183 While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

249 412 Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hiwé nuŋeŋtawé)

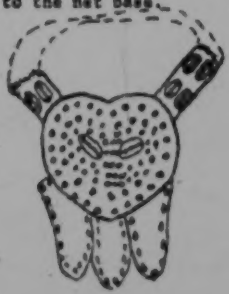
[192]



Ornaments

301 286 287 192 [583] [439] [436] Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawtsé) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price). Shells , yasi (small cowrie shells) and asimangiré (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below , an ornament called nō masiké (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.



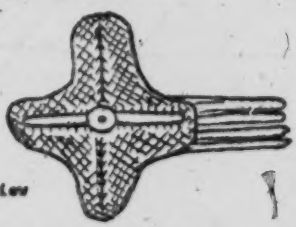
[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (asingurí), shell ornaments (wanyiyé) , yasi , asimangiré and lofu wafé (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird of paradise (mano) are the most highly prised for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mano.

301 [561] A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white 301 237 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo foku) is attached

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle of the head.

[192] nagŋɨ minjɨ-- ornamental comb
[581]



front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fikɨ) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fulɨ) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

Appendix 1 GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

Key to vocabulary

104
194
192

Vowels

ɨ = u in but (ɨ =ʌ)

@ = a in bat (@ =æ)

a = a in father

o = o in rote

e = a in mate

u = u in rule

i = ee in meet

Consonants

f and b are bilabial

mb and nd are nasalized consonants

192

Section II
VOCABULARY

afakɨ	now, today
afɨ kafɨ	soon, presently
[601] afɨ yakɨ	father's older brother
afiyangwat	variety of taro
afo	a generic term for birds, butterflies, and bats
afo fɨyɨ	small bat
afojokwo	variety of banana
afo jokwɨ	fowl
afo kimbi	large bat, "flying fox"
afo kiyɨ	cicada
afo kwasɨ	large fruit bat
afo kwasɨ mɨmbɨ	hair on the arms
afokwɨ	father or paternal uncle. The term refers to afi, awa, and afo yakɨ If one is asked who his afokwɨ is, he will answer with the name of his afi. It is also used as andɨ afokw, meaning "I am of the older generation".
afokwɨ	old man
afo ma	cockatoo
afoma	white
afo mbeyɨ	birds' eggs
afo ndowandɨ	gouria pigeon

192 afo ngwiyeyé earrings

afo ngwo a small bird

afo nyumé rock pigeon

afo nyumeyé large fish hawk or eagle

afoeenkw chisel made from pig's thigh bone

afo ŋ̊mbé- large cassowary. A girl calls a man's penis afo ŋ̊mbé if she wants to have intercourse with him.

afoempa variety of yam

afo sombé rukwé a butterfly

afo senyé nest of the bush fowl

afo sifé small cassowary

afo wanjé large black duck

afo ẘŋé a bird's nest

afo ẘŋé egret

afo yemé duck

afo veyi "bird canoe", airplane

afwa greetings!

[601] ager (ahdré, a) new

ajé maternal grandparents (those who are addressed as laka or kumwa)

aka house, dwelling

aka feyé the enclosed part of a house

aka jifé the side of a house

akama house, home. Often used to refer to one's own hamlet or village

aka ma the front part of a house

aka ngwoné rat

akaré new, another

aké towé ridge pole

aka yin rear of a house, porch

ak̊ ẘc 4" black lizard

akwé coen to swallow

amé bamboo

amérgwré clam shell ring

amérukwé house fly

amaruka wana fly trap

amé yemé large bamboo with nodes knocked out. Used to carry water.

amba before, completed, done. Denoting completed action.

amiya bring it quickly, come quickly, go quickly

amwa father's younger brother

anandé big

amé me, to me

anéwcwé to agree, to speak

amé wasi yohité to play

amé jokwé taboo, prohibit

anjuka bow

192 ndé I

ndé yu ywé I dislike

ao clay pot'

ao bèwuto to cook (hiyato)

ao wari a bilassed saucepan

apasanka cassowary

arafá large knife

así wangári shells used for ornaments and money

así dog;scraper

así fu dog's tooth headband

ato ant

[601] atokwé wife's parents, parent-in-law

awisÕkí a kind of soup

awé wild sugar plant

awambaga a small palm

awe mother

ayandí noon

ayes navel

ca wbeyé wanda sÕtá masturbate (o). Phrase used to scold children.

cikác sÕw cÕrá the same as this; as big as theirs

afeyé hornbill

afi father, ceremonial

ajahawa hungry

ajo to have intercourse

ajo hawí to be hungry

aki ʏ(agi) bone dagger

angi my, mine

ará penis

ará wandá sÕtá masturbate(o). Phrase used to scold children.

asankwá grass spider

até this or that (demonstrative)

ayi canoe paddle

fafa stone

fafa afowa white stone

fambi hardwood point of a spear

fawá leaf, young shoot

fawa kapaka stem of a yam

fandáto to wrap in leaves for roasting

fayambi areca palm, areca nut

fayambiyaf variety of banana

fÕkáto to break fire wood

fÕnder one

fÕrá jará three

fÕrána them (dual accusative)

fÕrátá they, they two

fÕrati their (dual genitive)

fÕráto to draw a design

fÕrá tawá relation between two families(stop as one)

fi blood, sap, milk

192 fijo — to fight, spear, kill

fikɨ — wicker work

fojɨ kayi — sunset

fokwɨ — string or cord for lashing, vine used for lashing

fora — sago needle fish hook

foyɨ — pig

foyɨ kokw — flint

foyɨ utu — to boil

foyimbɨ — pig's tusk

foyokw — bull roarers

foyokwɨ — soup

fu — tooth

fulɨ — arm band

futo — to bring forth, come out

fuyi — white shell ring worn as an ornament

fwejo — one

fwejo — to break ground with a digging stick

fwuyɨ — cheek

garubw — fruit tree

girumba — tree

hafɨ fikɨ — arm band

hafɨmɨ — shoulder joint

hafɨ mbalɨ — poor, thin, "bone nutin"

hakwato — to weep

hamba — small knife

hamba hijo — to practice phlebotomy

handɨ yuyɨ — young man

hanga yungo — to be a little better (if sick)

hangɨ yato — to fly

hangwa — variety of yam

harafɨ — big

harɨnɨ tatɨ — help, assist

hato — to give; to be sick; die

hawankwa — variey of yam

hawɨsik — let's go!

haydmi — a tree

hecuwɨ — to look at, look for

hi — name, fire

hi jafɨ — firewood

hi ka tukato — to burn, make a fire

hikɨsato — to be wrong, err

hil@kɨ — to steal

himdangara — cigarette

him — tobacco

himyɨ — a kind

hisawɨ — big, large (marked out)

hiso — to mark, mark out

hiyato — to cook, boil

hofama — variety of yam

hofato — to open

hofojimbifɨ — small tree snake

hofokiyɨf — large tree snake

192

hofokwẽe	2' water snake
hofu	snake
hokwé hokwa	ceremony
hokwa kẽréto	to scratch onẽe skin
hokwa yato, hokwé yato	to scratch
homba leyato	to be ashamed
hompa	palm spatha
hongo rukwé	arm pit
hongwé	afternoon
hongwésé	to sneeze, begin to be sick
hongwato	to loosen, untie
hoyé yikafé	man child, son
hukwiyé	meat
humboto (humbutu)	to beat a gong
i	tomorrow
ijo (iju)	go
ja	vagina
jojo	to scratch, pinch
joyé	chair, bed
ji	down below
jimbifi	sap of a tree
jis iju	to walk about, go calling
kafére	three and four(in coming)
kafwé	black magic
kafwa sekẽ-	bad, no good
kamé epwé	to menstruate
kambé	swamp grass
kamwa fi	menstrual blood
kandkandé	quail
kaoaka	stem (of taro)
katé	that (demonstrative)
kasanafa	blue dye
kayé nimbére	personal name (feminine)
kẽkété ijo	to chase
kẽnkareyaf	2" white bush lizard
kẽréto	to cut, scratch, shave
kẽréto	to tie
késénéfé	tree, the berries of which are used for dye
kététo	to buy
kéwato	to plant (yams and bananas)
kéyato	to weep, wail
kafé	good (applied particularly to people)
kayé fi	good
kes ijo	to dry up (sore), to peal (vegetable)
kayahafa	variety of yam same as afosampa
kayafé, kéyafé	ornament
kayaké	house for storing yams and taro
kayé hafé	black, blue, green
kayé ngambé	black feather

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kijé	you two (dual gen.)	kwar	a hardwood tree
kijémé	you two (dual acc.)	kw@sé	betel pepper
kiji	you two (dual gen.)	kwase	a magic leaf
kikiyé	tiny	kwasikó	bushland, jungle
kiu	pig's tusk scraper	kwayé	tail feathers of a cassowary
kin iju	to sharpen, whittle, engrave	kwejémbé	thigh
kinyé	tail feathers, tail	kweyé	good, well, hard (adv.)
kirése	to cut or bruise	kwinjé fofweyé	breath
kis kis	side posts of a house	kwinjé safi	lips
kiyé	flesh of pig or cassowary	kwo	mat bag
kiyato, kiyéto	to carry	kwo mas	behind
koré koré	small marsupial	kwo wasfké	mountain
korémbé	men's house, sib	kwomé	you (pl. acc.)/ 6" arrow
korowé	saw fish	kwo na wa	whose, what, what is
kow	variety of yam	kwofé	stinking, rotten
kowimi	4" red ants	kworé	boil, ulcer
kow@ hukuw@	to wait	kwoté	you (pl. nom.)
kowtafa	subsidiary stem of a yam	kwotato, kwotéto	to cut in a sawing manner
kumbo	stomach, belly	kwoti	your (pl. gen.)
kukiya	animal food	wa	man, husband
kumbo jeyé	orphan	wafuwé	first, in front
kumbujeyémi/@ o	thin, poor	wagagositit	design cut through bark of a tree - Property marks
kim ok@sé	palm	wa heyé	burial platform
[601] kumwo	younger brother	wagwis@wé	ladle
kuréké	stingless honey bee	wa keyémbi	forehead
kuréto	to curve, bend		
kwar sugwiya	afternoon ceremony		
kwé hato	to cut up meat		

192 ma kiyafi jiju — payment to deceased wife's family

makáfá — long hair

mambá — skin

mambeyá — ear

mambeyá — hawk

mana — rat trap

managa oaka — variety of taro

mandá — testicles

mandá simbá — pubic hair

mandowa — variety of yam

[601] mangáfá — mother's brother

mank — a swamp grown tree

mangá ruwá a@ká — kidneys

mangwisa — a tree

mangárákampá — an edible lizard

mankárá — back bone

mangola — comb ornament

mano — bird of paradise

mará kafá — little black mosquito

mara oakwá- — brain, soft bone on top of baby's head

Marailai — ghost, spirit

mas@ká — head, front

mas@ká nga — grey hair

masa — before, previously

masayá minjá — comb

maya — fish net

mayaka — strong, large, old

mé fénga — wooden trumpet

mérinká — white sago grub

m@ — crocodile

m@ná — you (sing. nom.)

m@ngá — tree

m@tá — you (sing. nom.)

m@ti — your (sing. nom.)

mbambá — shell ring arm band

mband mband — nearby

mbango wará — pig skin shield

mbas — tinea; small lizards

mbasambaga — a rough leaf about 1' square, used as outer wrapping for boiled sago.

mbasakáyato — to return to one's house

mbayá ngayá — side

mbe — egg

mbeyajo — to be crazy, insane

mbi — point

mbirika — spinach

mbiyuka — 1' lizard

mbom — mouth

mbombo — hammer

mbonká — taro

mboro wanga — neck

mbos — small lizard

mboyni — a tree

192 mbonyi old

mbə belly

mbu ground, earth

mbukinawé to refuse

mbukw a certain leaf

mbumboya something

mbutukgnafo 2' ground snake

mbutuwi variety of yam

mbəə nothing, no, not

mbwiya variety of banana

me kambé bush country to south, sago swamp

me mbé yowé hole in gong

[601] mem mother's brother

mendayé brother (woman speaking)

menjo, menjéwé to hear, understand

meré a tree (Ficus?)

mesaka a tree

mesalaf a tree

me sŋkd heart, fruit

mesérimbé gong beater

[601] meye rib bone

meyon water melon

miji a sago grub

mikwénéé snake

mimé wife, woman

[601] mimé yikafé female child, daughter

minjéfankiyé 6" edible black bush lizard

minjé futu to be sick

miyi eyes

miyi mbonjé eyebrow

miyi nambé eyelids

mogu nipple, breast, milk

moké sémbé urine

moka sperm

mokufi milk

mokwé nambé light brown skin, white skin

mokwi the cicatrization on a woman's belly

mombu bamboo beheading knife

mombé esé comb

mongwi yangwé rubbish

morinjé a white sago grub used to bait hooks

mowanyega variety of banana

mowé sŋkd large tree with fine grained wood. Yembons use it for canoe making.

mowi sister

moyi large fish

moya " "

mugwiyeyé bamboo cage

mwenjé court of older men who decide on crimes and sorcery.

mwenjé mbetu to talk

192

na	imperative particle
nanda	body of yam or taro
nambí (bared)	creak
rempa	small roots or spines of a yam
nangwí	something
narámboyi	friend, blood brother
[601] narəmá	brother's sister's wife
nawa i	go!
nawaki	large white ground snake
[601] nawí yaki	father's older brother's wife
rayáwəlo	water snake
nayámá nəki	red, light brown
nayámbi	year
[601] nəfí	dry, ripe
nəgdicu	to hold in hand
nəkárí, nəkarí	yellow
nəkáriywá	to be well
nəmbí	feathers, hair
nəndí kwat	central post in a house
nəŋkayəwar	2nd black house lizard--inedible
nəngangwaá	small black bush mosquito
nəwá	to howl (dog)
nəwəfki	moon
nbagaak	variety of yam
ndangi yookwí	small bug which supposedly kills a man if it gets in his ear
ndəfárí	first two units in counting
ndəfárí	four
ndəfárí karí	three
ndəkí	here, at this spot
ndəmbali	four row knitted ornament
ndəngarí	a piece, bit, part
ndəngato	to cut up
ndəti	this
ndompí	short
ndowíkay	rat
ndowar	a plant
nenywí	earthquake
nenyí	yam
neyi	wife's sister's child
ngambí	ghost; ornament, markings on a pot
ngambírungwenyí	small tree bat
ngarafaya	variety of banana
ngawí	pith
ngayawwa	variety of banana
ngayana	lizard snare
Ngayí Ngayí	original inhabitants of Kwoma
ngayatafa	variety of yam
ngayí	sago swamp
ngdui	fried sago fritters
ngərato	to shave face

192 ng@rd ng@sd — an ornamental betel stick

ng@risiju — to peel, part of process of scraping sago pith

ng@sd — tally which records the amount of bride price; lime spatula

ng@yd — fried sago fritters; a small bush lizard

nginyd — toy used to imitate sound of gongs

ngole — a plant

ngowd — bone of "flying fox" used for needle

ngoro — long

ngowd y@t@s — orange bodied mosquito

ngowosi, ngowimi — large orange ants

ngumbetmwosi — cross beam

ngumbu — sedge

ngumbwiyo — sweet potato "tapioc"

ngungwinyd — marrow

ngwantomoyd — spider

ngwayd — long bamboo pole used to hang runners on yam plants

ngworo — high, long

ngwoto — to fill up

ng@t@ fai@to — to empty

ngwimbihofo — 2' groond snake

ngwusi — tortoise, turtle

ngwwayamp — sago needle

[60] nirjokw — daughter's husband

nonumokd — large clam shell

nokwd- — sago

nombonjo — broken

nijd n@ngd — evening

nijengd — morning

niji — night, dark

njimbi — comb ornament

nje — banana leaf paper

nogwako — variety of yam

nogwisd — Australian

nokwa — vegetable food

rokwa sanga — long, ribbed leaf

nokwangora — hot water

nokwifd — many

nokumokd — large clam shell suspended from necklace

nokwingord — boiled sago pith

nokwd o@wd — paw paw

nokwa — raised scars which are a symbol of manhood

nokwis — white men

nombo — road

nombonjo — broken

nond — us (pl. acc.)

nosafd — ground

notd — we (pl. nom.)

noti — our (pl. gen.

nowd — ground, earth; tree, the berries of which are used for dye

192 numbuy@rɨk day before yesterday

nyinymwɨ earth quake

ɔmaup digging stick

oayimbi domesticated betal nut

ofw@lɨ later

ofweyɨyakɨt to come sometime later

okamalaga lizard snare

okɨ a boil

okɨrmɨ sweat

omɨnd@ndɨ far away, distant

omo food, meat

omok@rɨ mimmw

otato to do, work

otowɨ ak to cook

owɨ an edible insect, sago grub

owɨs@kɨ fern, sago shoot

r@nɨ him

r@tɨ he

r@ti his

rokwiyɨto to empty

sa an expletive to call attention

safɨ skin

sakanowa red dye

sakɨ sowɨkwato to fall down (a person)

sambo kafwa sever relations between families

sakwɨ to fall down (an object)

saw@ajɨ 6' all-wood arrow

sawɨ large edible grasshopper

saw@nɨ base on which shells are sewed for ornaments

sawuto to sing; to teach or to scold

s@kɨ s@ɨto to sizzle, dry up on fire

s@nbayɨ ornament suspended from neck

s@nakɨ following

sɨnbayɨ base on which shells are sewed for ornaments

sɨwenato to fetch (water)

sangurɨ bark rings

se awa form of greeting

secuwɨ to place, put

sembi hair, short feathers

senyɨ (often pronounced san) form of greeting

s@nɨ black magic

s@tɨ she, it

s@ti her, its(gen.)

s@wɨ coconut

s@wɨ fo coconut milk

s@wɨ fiju to break a coconut

s@wɨ najɨ red

s@wɨ onoyutu to take out the meat of coconuts

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si	ants
sicé	we two, we
sin	variety of banana
sokérenkérd	2" lizard
sokwato	to come up (wind or plants)
soma	butt of yam or taro
soubo	lacking, empty, emptied
songawan	cicada
sowangéhokwé ciou	to whistle
sowé	wind
suferuku	18" black lizard
sufu	hole
sufétambí	"lap lap" (pidgin)
sug@riyowé	6" black bush lizard
sugilwas	beings thought by women to make noises of flutes, gongs, etc. at ceremonies
sugwiyawé	to dream
sugwiyé	ceremony; hant sugwiyé, age-grade ceremony; yenéminjé, yam cult ceremony
sugilówas	marsalai, or wooden figures representing them
sumagwiyi	upper lip
sumba sumba	without expecting pay
sumo	buttocks, rear, back of anything
sumo sufé	anus
sumwa sumwa	without
sumwenjé	nose
sungu	intestines
sungé woenj (sunga wenj)	sorcery court
suwafa	co-wife
suwutu	to roast
tafé	arm; handle; limb of a tree
tafé hondtu	to hiccough
tafé mangéré	back of hand
tafémd	finger; fifth unit in counting
tafémbis	fingernail
tafémbowkwé	elbow
tafé miyi	wrist joint
tafé oe	upper arm
tafé wofu	palm of hand
takimpi	chin
takwé mayémé hato	to yawn
tarokwoyé	tongue
tarato	to chew
tawé	stop, remain, live
t@fé	trough for washing sago pith
t@géré	bit, piece, section, portion, remainder
t@kimbésibé	beard
t@mimému	shoulder
tenjicu	howl, bark

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togwowé	to tie a knot
tombokwiew	to carry on the shoulder
tokpo	short
tosɨto	to dance
ufɨrieɨ	two; sometimes, "they two"
ufɨrisimbɨ	a few
ugum@rɨ	a large eel
ugu sɨwɨ	to chew betel
u handɨ nandɨ	dawn
uk@nbus	1" black lizard
uku	water
ukums	2" edible black bush lizard
uku uyuyi	high water
ukus	sickness; phlegm
unɨnisf	small opossum
usuto	to shout
usunje	large opossum
uwɨ	husk of betel nut
uwiya kus	womb
wafɨ	lime gourd
wafɨ dakɨ	hole in top of lime gourd
wafiyokw	2'-3' ground snake
wagɨndagɨt	inter - tribal court
wajɨ	breadfruit
wanda	an herb
wangeyef	the rim of a fish net
wanyiyɨ	shell ornament
waru	pumpkin
wasifi	variety of banana
wasimpira	variety of yam
waterɨsokwsto	to wake and rise
wato	sleep
wayɨ	rain
wayufa	6' tree snake
w@ɨ	to paddle; black paint
w@s	salt
w@sato	to greet
w@kiy kuwuto	to bake lime
w@jɨto	to set a post
wɨnɨnkwɨ	spoon roughly made from coconut shell--no handle; raises scars which are a symbol of manhood
wɨsɨgayɨ	German
wesard	small nut-like betel which grows wild
weyw	canoe
wokɨ	drum (kundu)
worɨ	a plank shield
woyɨ hokwɨ	the ringing of an ax
woyɨwɨ	celt holder
woyɨto	to fill up
woyɨhiyɨ	grass
woye	wild yam
wɨye	adze
woyico	to vomit
wur@fiyɨ	chop sticks

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wurémbeyé	wooden sleeping slab
wus	salt
ya mongwo	middle of the night
yantfké	lunch
yar	on a level
yaréfaké	day after tomorrow
yasi	shell used for ornaments and for money
yaté mandré	shin bone or shin
yaté mé	toe
yatémberanj	calf of leg
yatémbiéd	toe nail
yatémbonku ngurú	knee cap
yaté minjé	lame foot (also proper name)
yatémiyi	ankle
yaté wofu	sole of foot
yato	marry, come, bring
yifémbdké	seasoning leaves
yayemé	rafters
yaynfa	variety of banana
yÖkéé	generic name for insects, applied chiefly to mosquitoes, but not to flies
yÖréké	yesterday
ye icu	to carry
yekmé	to pull down, to cut down
yembiru	ax
yené kwat	back central post in house
yenémingé ngwiyé	yam cult ceremony
yenéafé	tobacco pouch; tree from which tobacco pouch is made
yeré	cross rafter
yesogwet	to lift up
yeyi	paternal grandparent; young shoot on tree or plant
yeyimu	to go down
yicé	they (pl. nom.)
yici	their (pl. gen.)
yicu	to sit down, to put or place, to be situated
yikafé	child
yikafa	son, ceremonial address
yiné	them (pl. acc.), the
yinyé	then
yi tow	ridge pole extension
yiyi	their
yo	top, up
yofu	banana
yokwiné	razor
yomo	a kind of palm
yompu	spear
yonkwo	long handled chisel

[601]

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yoedto	to sprinkle
yoto	to throw a spear
yowé kanyé	tin
yowé	work
yowutu	to have intercourse (of animals)
ya yowé	to dislike

Common Phrases

192 an iju fundar tɨmbɨ niyi	I am going for one night
an yo oddɨd kuo na sandɨ yagɨt	I'work make later'. I will come,
an yikafand mokwujijɨ	I show, teach my child
an yikafand wejuwɨ	I scold my child
and itsa hawa	I am hungry
an wan inyɨ kafwɨ hagijo	I am 'sorry too much'
an wend hoc iju	I will look at you (think of you)
afokɨ ca tand ngaji rɨwatɨ	Don't wake him; he sleeps
owij	What are you doing that for?
nɨ ya yɨ	Bring something
nɨ yeyɨ yeyi	Carry it away
igapan@	my child
igap@ kiy@fah@	my good child
igap@ hawa@	my child is dead
hayah@	he is dead